

## Message Text

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44

ACTION SS-25

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 317

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: COMMENTS ON MEETING AUGUST 29 (SALT TWO-755)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING SEMENOV TABLED LANGUAGE ON WEAPONS IN ORBIT, READING IN THEIR TRANSLATION AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE (E) SYSTEMS FOR PLACING NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR ANY OTHER KIND OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION INTO ORBIT AROUND THE EARTH, OR FRACTIONAL ORBITAL MISSILES; END QUOTE (IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH SEMENOV AND ROWNY'S QUESTION TO TRUSOV, THEY BOTH CATEGORICALLY SAID THAT THE TERM "FRACTIONAL ORBITAL MISSILES" IS THEIR TERM FOR WHAT WE CALL FOBS, WHICH IS NOT USED IN THEIR LANGUAGE. OUR INTERPRETERS STATE THAT RUSSIAN WORD "CHASTICHNO" COULD BETTER BE TRANSLATED "PARTIAL".) SEMENOV ALSO MADE PRO FORMA STATEMENT ON PARAS 2 (A) AND (B) OF ARTICLE XVIII (EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND PRIOR NOTIFICATION) LARGELY REPEATING STATEMENT HE HAD MADE TO ME LAST NIGHT, AND I MADE BRIEF STATEMENT ON PARA 6 OF ARTICLE IV (NORMAL CONSTRUCTION RATES).

2. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HE AGAIN INDICATED AGREEMENT

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TO PRINCIPLE OF ITEMS IN NEW AGREEMENT NOT INCONSISTENT WITH

I.A. COMING INTO EFFECT AT TIME OF EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT ON SPECIFICS. IN RESPONSE TO MY REPEATING AGREED BANS IN ARTICLE X AND ARTICLE XVI (SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS) AND ARTICLE XVIII (SCC PROCEDURES) AS EXAMPLES, HE INDICATED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH FIRST TWO AND SOME QUESTION AS TO HOW ARTICLE XVIII WOULD INTERPHASE WITH I.A. SCC PROCEDURES. (I HAD POINTED OUT IMPORTANCE OF NOT HAVING HIATUS IN SCC PROCEDURES BETWEEN EXPIRATION OF I.A. AND ADOPTION OF PROCEDURES UNDER NEW AGREEMENT.) HE ALSO SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY OF ARTICLE IX (ASMS ON AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN BOMBERS) AND ARTICLE XIV (NON-TRANSFER). IN EPLY TO HIS QUESTION, I SAID THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE A SUFFICIENT AREA OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US TO JUSTIFY OUR SEEKING TO WORK OUT A DRAFT FORMULATION THAT WOULD COVER THIS FOR ARTICLE XX AND PROMISED TO PRODUCE SUCH A DRAFT SHORTLY.

3. REFERRING TO ARTICLE XVI (SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS), HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED QUOTE TO PROPOSE, UNDER THIS ARTICLE OF THE JDT, THAT BOTH SIDES UNDERTAKE TO BEGIN IN 1977, AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO TAKE EFFECT BOTH BEFORE EXPIRATION OF THE NEW AS WELL AS AFTER 1985. UNQUOTE IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTINS, HE CONFIRMED THAT "BY ENTRY INTO FORCE" THEY MEANT EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS COULD START ANYTIME DURING THE YEAR 1977. HE SPECIFICALLY CONFIRMED THAT THEY DID NOT MEAN AFTER OCTOBER 3, 1977. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INFORM ME THAT DURING SUCH NEGOTIATIONS THE SOVIETS WILL RAISE FBS AND THE EXISTANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES. I SAID THAT "I HEARD WHAT HE HAD SAID."

4. HE THEN TABLED LANGUAGE FOR PARA 7(C) ARTICLE IV (RAPID RELOAD), READING AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY SYSTEMS FOR RAPID RELOAD OF FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS. UNQUOTE I SAID, AS MY FIRST QUICK INFORMAL REACTION, I NOTED THAT THIS FORMULATION WOULD OMIT MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS AND THAT, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE QUESTION OF HOW LAND MOBILE ICBMS ISSUE WOULD COME OUT ELSEWHERE IN THE AGREEMENT, OUR LANGUAGE HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO COVER MOBILES IF THEY WERE PERMITTED. HOWEVER, AFTER STUDYING HIS PROPOSAL I WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY GIVE  
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CONSIDERED RESPONSE. IN MEANWHILE WE BOTH AGREED THAT ALL OF PARA 7 COULD BE REFERRED TO DRAFTING GROUP.

5. HE THEN RAISED WITH ME ARTICLE II (DEFINITIONS), SAYING THAT AT ONE TIME US HAD SEEMED VERY INTERESTED IN THIS ARTICLE; SOVIETS HAD ACCOMMODATED TO OUR VIEW THAT THERE SHOULD BE SUCH AN ARTICLE. THERE HAD BEEN EXCHANGES ON SUBSTANCE OF PROVISIONS, BUT RECENTLY ALL MOVEMENT HAD APPEARED TO STOP. HAD WE LOST

INTEREST, OR HOW SHOULD HE EXPECT MATTER TO DEVELOP IN FUTURE? I POINTED OUT THAT FAR FROM STOPPING GENERAL ROWNY HAD AT HIS LAST BILATERAL WITH TRUSOV INFORMALLY PROPOSED A REVISED MIRV DEFINITION AND THAT I HOPED THE TWO OF THEM WERE CONTINUING A DISCUSSION OF THE MATTER AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING. (IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH ROWNY, TRUSOV ANALYZED DRAFT ROWNY HAD GIVEN HIM AGAINST SOVIET DRAFT AND URGED ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET DRAFT ON BASIS IT SAID SAME THING IN CLEARER AND MORE EXPLICIT TERMS. HOWEVER, EACH AGREED FURTHER TO STUDY MATTER.)

6. NEXT MEETING WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, SOVIET MISSION. JOHNSON

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